

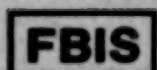
JPRS 75063

4 February 1980

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1761



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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<b>REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE</b>		1. REPORT NO. JPRS 75063	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1761			5. Report Date 4 February 1980	
7. Author(s)			8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
			11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No. (C) (G)	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above			13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
			14.	
15. Supplementary Notes				
16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words)  This serial report contains information on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.				
17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors				
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania <input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> German Democratic Republic <input type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input type="checkbox"/> Poland <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia		Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations		
b. Identifiers/Open Ended Terms				
c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15				
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED		21. No. of Pages 52
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED		22. Price

4 February 1980

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CONTENTS	PAGE
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
Briefs	
GDR-Romanian Dual Nationality	1
CPCZ Delegation Visits GDR	1
ALBANIA	
Neglect, Desecration of Cultural Monuments Deplored (Alfred Kazanxhi; RRUGA E PARTISE, Nov 79).....	2
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	
'TRIBUNA' Accuses West, Vatican of Systematic Anti-CSSR Propaganda (Stepanka Capova; TRIBUNA, 19 Dec 79).....	12
'TRIBUNA' Editorials Evaluate Economic Situation (Editorial; TRIBUNA, 5 Dec 79).....	17
Economic Planning Must Be Improved, by Eduard Podzemny	
Petit Bourgeois Danger Must Be Watched, by Jaroslav Tomcik	
Production Councils Foster Worker Role in Management (Editorial; PRAVDA, 29 Dec 79).....	22

# CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED Greets Israeli Communists on Founding Anniversary (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 17/18 Nov 79).....	26
'NEUES DEUTSCHLAND' on Support for Palestinians (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 29 Nov 79).....	28
Transportation, Storage Methods for Medical Oxygen Discussed (G. Bohlemann; MILITAERTECHNIK, Dec 79).....	30
Briefs	
Award for FRG Churchman	37
Peace Concerns of Church	37
Paramilitary Organization's Naval Training	37
U.S. Photo Exhibition Opening	38
Arrest of Border Violator	38
Arrest of Border Provocateur	38
Envoy in Nicaragua	38
Kampuchea Economic Talks	38
GDR Delegation in Kampuchea	39
Angolan Minister's Visit	39
New Ambassador to Burundi	39
Education Agreement With Cuba	39
Canadian Trade Symposium Opens	40
Women in Civil Defense	40

## ROMANIA

Report on Meeting of Leaders of Jewish Groups (REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC, 1 Nov 79).....	41
New Airport Established in Caransebes (BULETINUL OFICIAL, 4 Oct 79).....	42
Briefs	
Joint Insurance Company, Reinsurance Agency	44

## YUGOSLAVIA

West German Press Discusses Vranicki's Anti-Stalinism (Heiko Flottau; SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 15 Jan 80).....	45
Correspondent Visits Besieged Embassy, Interviews Students (Editorial Report).....	48
Bufalini Interview in Italian Paper Reported (D. Vukobratovic; BORBA, 22 Jan 80).....	49



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

GDR-ROMANIAN DUAL NATIONALITY--The ratification instruments on the agreement between the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania on the elimination of existing cases and the prevention of future cases of dual nationality were exchanged on Thursday between the GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Dr Klaus Willerding and Gheorghe Tache, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the GDR. The agreement had been signed on 20 April 1979 in Bucharest. [Text] [AU211200 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

CPCZ DELEGATION VISITS GDR--Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received on Wednesday [9 January] a study delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee under the leadership of Jiri Poslt, deputy department head in the CPCZ Central Committee, for friendly talks. Guenter Mittag gave an account of the 11th session of the SED Central Committee and of the further tasks related to implementing the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress. Participating in the talks, which took place in a comradely atmosphere and which reaffirmed the aspirations to further deepen the economic cooperation between the GDR and the CSSR, was Gerhard Trautenhahn, head of the SED Central Committee department for machine building and the metallurgical industry. Also present was CSSR Ambassador Frantisek Hamouz. [Text] [AU111450 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

## NEGLECT, DESECRATION OF CULTURAL MONUMENTS DEPLORED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 11, Nov 79 pp 68-76

[Article by Alfred Kazanxhi: "Cultural Monuments--A Great Treasure With Current Values"; passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Our party and people's government have devoted and are devoting a special attention to the knowledge and dissemination of the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of our people and of their material, cultural and artistic work created over the centuries. All their work has aimed and aims at acquainting the present and future generations with the famous traditions of the past, which not only help their patriotic education, but also help to make them understand much better the present political and ideological line of the party--a line which is not separated from the glorious past of our people.

/Our people,/ one of the oldest people in the Balkans, /are also known for their great and comprehensive, constructive and creative work, that demonstrates an incontestable proof of their level of material and spiritual development since the early times./ This legacy, constituting a very precious wealth for our people and proving the continuity, course and struggle for freedom, progress, culture and civilization and for a better life during the evolution of history, is a great one; but the former regimes and ruling, oppressive and exploiting classes underestimated and disdained the creative work of our working people and kowtowed to foreign culture. Great harm and irreplaceable loss were caused to the material and spiritual values of our people by the occupiers and the bloody and destructive wars that took place in our land in centuries against the Greek and Roman, the Norman and Slav, the Angevin and Byzantine, the Venetian and Ottoman, and the Italian and German invaders, as well as by the negligence and treachery of the ruling feudal and bourgeois cliques that had abandoned the monuments of architecture, art and culture in the mercy of fate and had paved the way for foreigners to plunder the very precious cultural and artistic treasure of this land.

Our party and our people's government showed a completely new attitude toward cultural monuments. This change has an emphasized class and proletarian character and is linked with the attitude that our party has in general toward the people's work. The party sees the creative genius of

the platform and work program of the Geological Research Center, of the Institute for Cultural Monuments and of dependent organisms of these important cultural and scientific institutions that make a valuable contribution to this field.

As a result of the great work achieved in these 35 years of the people's government, today we have discovered and taken inventory of about 3,000 cultural monuments (buildings of museum-cities, city and village dwellings of historical architectural value, artistic monuments, ancient and medieval citadels, historical centers, religious institutions and so forth,) in addition to 7,000 icons and iconostases, woodwork, stonework, plasterwork, and so forth that have been discovered and repaired. A good work has also been achieved in tracing, protecting and restoring village buildings during the process of which a rich graphic, photographic and descriptive material of value for the history of Albanian architecture has been collected.

/The work achieved so far for the discovery of cultural monuments and for their protection, restoration and study can be considered neither complete nor terminated./ There are still unknown objects, just as there are many zones which are not studied, especially in the northern districts. Despite discoveries made by our archeologists in the field of prehistory and proto-history, the problem of the ethnogenesis of the Illyrians still remains a problem. The research work, especially in prehistory, had so far been confined mainly to the southeastern districts of the country. Scholars are convinced that the expansion of this research work would help to give a better documented answer to the problems of the Illyrian genesis and, especially, to the Pelagian problem in order to better investigate the relations between the Pelagians and Illyrians.

Important tasks are assigned for the present and for the future in expanding the research work on the Illyrian cities, of this main link that helps to clarify many problems of economic, cultural and socio-political character of the Illyrians in the period of the slave-owner system, as well as to open a few field of studies about the Illyrian village, in order to learn more about its economic and cultural physiognomy and about its relations with the slave-owner city.

The study of the "Hellenic settlements" along the coastal area, perceiving them as a component part of the Illyrian world, also is an object of further research work for our archeologists. They are assigned the task of further expanding their research work in the field of the Middle Ages, as a theme and as an opening, in order to learn more about the aspect of the economic, social and cultural structure of the Albanians from the Seventh Century to the late Middle Ages century.

Now the important periods of the history of our people are explained, mainly as a result of the studies that have been carried out. It is precisely the monuments and other materials, discovered during the research work, that have served and are serving us as an important base to carry out studies and to reject a number of bourgeois interpretations that called our



working masses of our country, their spiritual force and invincible vitality in the monumental works of architecture, arts and culture of the many generations from the earliest times, because, "the specific national characteristics of our people, their road to development and progress" and their contribution to the "enrichment of world cultural treasury are embodied in them." (AWP, Leading Documents, Vol III, p 245).

The Workers Party has continuously evaluated this great treasure of our people because of the fact that the "chauvinistic bourgeoisie of the surrounding countries and the imperialist enemies had left Albania in distress; they have advertised Albania as a country of wild people, barbarians, without culture and with severe customs," (Enver Hoxha, Works, Vol 23, p 249), while foreign reactionary and chauvinistic historians have tried and are trying to discriminate, darken and distort the glorious history of our people and their traditions in the field of material and spiritual culture.

After the liberation of the country, along with the great work for solving the various problems required for the reconstruction and construction of the country, the party also devoted the necessary attention to archeological excavations and studies and to the discovery and restoration of cultural monuments. It was for the first time in the history of our country that the evaluation of traditions and the discovery and protection of historical and artistic values, that the former generations had created, had become a state concern. For this purpose, decisions were taken and laws were promulgated and special institutions were established, such as the Archeological Research Center and its scientific nucleuses in Durres, Fier and Sarande and the Institute for Cultural Monuments and its workshops and branches in some districts; and important funds were allocated for discovering, maintaining, restoring and studying cultural monuments--the measures that served not only to discover, collect and classify them, but also to disseminate them and raise their value to a higher level.

The first law on the protection of cultural monuments and rare natural treasures, approved by the People's Assembly in 1948, was supplemented in 1955 by the decision of the Council of Ministers "On the Measures for the Protection of Cultural Monuments" and was enriched in 1959 by the decision of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party "On the Patriotic and Revolutionary Traditions of our People and the Measures for Knowing and Further Developing Them."

The work that was initiated for the discovery, protection, restoration and study of cultural monuments brought out new problems that required judicial solutions, and therefore, Decree No 4874 of September 1971 of the Presidium of the People's Assembly "On the Protection of Cultural Monuments and of Rare Treasures" was also approved.

These important documents, just as the repeated guidelines of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, constitute the basis on which the work for the discovery, protection, evaluation and dissemination of cultural monuments is being developed today. These documents also determine

Illyrian ancestors "rude robbers," or that considered the Albanians--the descendants of the Illyrians--as "shepherds who had come later in these lands," and that, allegedly, they belonged to the Slavs and Greeks. The cultural monuments, as works of the people's creativeness, not only show the economic and cultural level of the period to which they belong, but also bring into the open important events for the history of our people.

The expansion of studies on the historical periods that are less known arms our scholars with other documents in order to reject the anti-scientific and anti-Albanian conclusions of some foreign scientists who have dealt and are dealing with the study of these historical periods. Anti-scientific views have been formulated at symposiums organized in neighboring countries; according to these views, the Illyrians are denied of their ethnical and cultural physiognomy and their social and economic life is made primitive. Our archeologists and scholars consider it as their duty to struggle more actively so as to reject all the bourgeois and revisionist points of view and to shed more light on the basic problems of the Illyrian history and archeology, strongly relying on Marxist-Leninist methodology.

However, the discovery of ancient monuments and study of the periods to which they belong are one aspect of the problem. Their correct interpretation is another aspect, just as much important. A monument which is not submitted to a correct subjective interpretation cannot have a historical and scientific value. Therefore, much remains for improving the method of doing research on cultural monuments and studying them. Also, in this field we are guided by Comrade Enver Hoxha's teaching that "the discovery of ancient monuments is a whole science and that the time has come for our people to master it. It is not possible to march blindly any longer starting research works, for example, where a tumulus has appeared; such an action might lead you to a discovery, but, also, it might not lead you there." (Enver Hoxha, Works, Vol 23, p 247).

This is an important lesson for the archeologists and expeditions of the Institute for Cultural Monuments. The excavation is an important stage with a great responsibility in archeological research work. The fate of the monument and the scientific value of the material gained depend on it. In their work, the archeologists now are guided by the principle that a chemical experiment that fails can be repeated by another experiment, but that an archeological excavation that fails cannot be repeated again.

However, the excavation is only the first stage in the long archeological research and study process. Therefore, our scientific institutions must provide, during the excavation process, in addition to the simple working force, the necessary technical and scientific personnel for the composition of the stratigraphic, chronological and cultural framework of excavated objects, because, without these works, the object discovered remains without a scientific value, since it tells nothing about its ethnic, historical and cultural connection.

The party has devoted particular concern to the protection and conservation of cultural monuments. Nor has the party spared necessary funds for the protection, maintenance and restoration of these objects. Also including these cases when a city or village inhabited dwelling is declared a "cultural monument."

The Institute for Cultural Monuments has done good work with regard to the examination, documentation and protection of city and village zones and dwellings. Until now, in addition to Berat and Gjirokastra cities, historical zones in Korce and Elbasan cities have been placed under protection and such zones in Shkoder, Tirana and Vlora cities are being studied. Along with these activities, a great number of isolated monuments in many cities have been placed under protection.

The work for the examination and protection of village buildings is also making good progress; this work began in 1970 and was intensified after 1974 following the decision of the Council of Ministers "On the Examination and Protection of Public Buildings." So far, 45 expeditions have been carried out throughout the country; during the activities of these expeditions, about 700 dwellings have been documented and about 200 have been placed under state protection.

From the study work achieved until now it appears that our country preserves very great riches in the field of public buildings. They are characterized by a variety of types by their architecture and by the perfection of their adaptation to the terrain. The Albanian folk master worker, the author of this distinguished construction work, has shown a great creative capacity. These buildings are a reflection of a great documentary value for the history of our people over the centuries.

On the basis of our legislation, 'the movable and immovable cultural monuments with rare historical, cultural, artistic, environmental and natural value are placed under state protection. This fact, however, does not exempt, from their legal obligations, the institutions, organizations or citizens that administer them nor the people's councils and the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts, in whose territory these monuments are located./

Failure to know these laws and, above all, the failure to recognize the great value of these cultural monuments have led to the damage or destruction of important cultural monuments with rare historical and artistic value, such as the ancient dam of Kraps in Fier District and damages to the citadel of Himari and to the church of Kameno in Delvine, the church of Marniro of Dukat in Vlora or the church of Vau I Dejes in Shkoder. It is unpardonable that these cultural monuments, which for whole centuries have been protected in the bosom of the motherland, which have resisted the destructive agents of nature and the calamities of the times and which, at last, have been discovered by archeological excavations have been left unprotected by the institutions concerned and, afterwards, abandoned to be damaged by uneducated peoples, such as happened, for example, to the fortified village house that was discovered at Kraps in Fier by the district archeological section.

The attention of the party and state organs must be drawn more to the damage caused by citizens during the adaptation of characteristic dwellings that are kept in museum cities, especially in Gjirokaster. It is necessary to show greater concern, especially where and when we have to deal with historical ensembles or groups of monuments with special importance and when it is necessary to assign responsible elements for their preservation, maintenance and honorable presentation. Particular concern is also required for the monuments with solely historical character, especially for those belonging to the period of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle and the building of socialism.

Underestimating and bureaucratic attitudes are held by those people who do not recognize the great importance of cultural monuments--this great treasure of the culture and creativeness of our people--for the patriotic education of the working masses even on those occasions when it is not taken into consideration that in our country, under the party leadership, the brilliant heritage of the past and every positive and progressive thing created by former generations during the centuries represent a great mobilizing force in the struggle for the building of life and the new socialist culture.

The party directive for increasing concern for cultural monuments must not be understood as a recommendation for increasing the number of workers that might be assigned to their protection. Just as any other problem, the protection and maintenance of cultural monuments are fully achieved when the working masses are aware of their historical and educational value and when they themselves, in a knowledgeable manner, protect and take good care of these monuments. But, this awareness cannot be created by itself. It requires an educational and propaganda work organized with the people who live or work near these objects so as to convince them about the great value of these treasures that shed light on the culture of our country, the very culture which in the past our enemies wanted to destroy, to deny it to us, to damage and to plunder.

It is the task of directors of sections of education and culture in districts, of managements of schools in villages and cities, of the Institute for Cultural Monuments and of its branches and workshops in the districts and of the Archeological Research Center and of its scientific and archeological sections in districts to assure that, through an intensive and thoughtful work, a more correct and more complete social opinion about archeological centers and cultural monuments is created and that archeological centers and cultural monuments are evaluated by all, as a rich heritage of national value and as living and irreplaceable documents that shed light on the history, culture and art of so many centuries of our people.

In order to create such convictions, the Institute for Cultural Monuments has developed a broad propaganda activity through films, television, the media, talks and so forth. In the meantime, efforts are being carried out to form a large network of social activists in schools, military units and the mass organizations which are taking responsibility for the maintenance and propagandizing of monuments. Special efforts are being



carried out in order to execute the party recommendation that school managements and teaching personnel be responsible for keeping in good condition historical and cultural monuments and various commemorative symbols (commemorative stones, busts, plates with inscriptions and so forth) situated within the jurisdiction of their schools, also finding the various administrative ways and forms for a broad mobilization of pupils [in this action].

The educational work carried out by the basic organizations and organs by the party and the mass organizations for forming a correct conception about the active role of tradition in the patriotic and revolutionary education of the working people has created a favorable terrain for the evaluation and protection of cultural monuments. This is the explanation of the interest shown by city and village workers for the preservation and maintenance of these monuments. The provisions enacted by our government in this direction, juridically expressing the party policy, also help in the education of the people. This is why the knowledge of our legal provisions and of the regulations that analyze them constitutes important direction for educational work, because this knowledge makes it possible for the masses themselves to call for the implementation of the laws when actions contrary to the laws occur and also it makes it possible to prevent some people from feeling that it is a "bad" thing for "someone to be penalized" for damaging a "stone," a "wall" or an "icon."

/The restoration and study of cultural monuments and of other materials, discovered in archeological excavations, constitutes another important task for the Institute for Cultural Monuments, the Archeological Research Center and for their sectors in the districts./

To fulfill this task our workers have relied on and will rely in the future on the repeated recommendations and teachings of the party, which have a special methodological value, because, the basic principles of work with monuments are clearly established in them on the basis of Marxist-Leninist criteria. Comrade Enver Hoxha's recommendation--to protect and preserve cultural monuments to write their "biographies," write about them and photograph them--has opened to us a wide horizon of work; and, so far, the documentation of a larger part of documents has been completed.

With regard to the voluminous character of work, for the documentation and study of cultural monuments, special importance should be given to the preservation of cultural monuments after their discovery, in order to save their total value until the moment when the creative process of restoration begins. In this field, our workers of the specialized institutions are guided by Comrade Enver Hoxha's recommendation: "We must preserve the monuments we have discovered so far from being deteriorated. We must take measures to preserve them until we have created the possibilities for restoring them with our own cadres" (Enver Hoxha, Works, Vol 23, p 251). On the basis of this principle, priority has been given to the measures of a strengthening nature by means of which many cultural monuments have escaped deterioration.



Of course, preservation is a transitory process that is replaced by the restoration work which has been increasing in volume and improving in quality, reaching, in comparison with 1966, an increase of 4 times of the funds spent for restoration work and by undertaking an average of 120-130 objects per year. The restoration work in the fortified objects is concentrated mainly in the important Illyrian locations, the Albanian feudal principalities and the Albanian independent pashaliks, such as the citadels in Lezhe, Zgerdesh, Klos, Kruje, Drisht, Berat and Gjirokaster. The archeological centers in Apolloni and Butrint, as well as a number of social buildings in other districts have also been in the center of attention. Concern has also been shown for religious monuments, as constructions having special artistic values. The largest volume of restoration work has been carried out in the museum-cities of Berat and Gjirokaster. Much work has also been carried out in Shkoder, Kruje, Elbasan, Korce and in other places, as well as in buildings declared as "cultural monuments" in villages. In the recent years many icons have been repaired and the repair work has begun for the restoration of a large number of mosaics and decorative folk objects. The restoration work of historical monuments has also been considerably increased. Of the 76 monuments taken under protection, 35 have been repaired. A great volume of work has been done on the occasion of the jubilee of the 100th anniversary of the Albanian League of Prizren. With the invigoration of the art sector attached to the Institute for Cultural Monuments, the progress of the abovementioned works will be further accelerated.

The work achieved for the restoration and conservation of monuments has been a good one. Nevertheless, there has also been work which leaves much to be desired and which draws attention to the necessity for a more careful good quality work that should be carried out for the preparation and training of specialized cadres with regard to these special sciences. Today there are dozens of higher and middle level cadres of different specializations working in the Archeological Research Center and in its scientific nucleuses and in the Institute for Cultural Monuments and in its branches and workshops in districts; these cadres have come mainly from the benches of our schools; they are specialized in their work in accordance with the party recommendation: "Let us learn by working and let us work by learning." Yet, greater attention must be devoted to the preparation of cadres, especially to the organized forms of their training, in order that we may give, in time, the right answer to the problems that deal with the study of cultural monuments and with the drawing of scientific, exact and accurate conclusions from the studies, so that, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, we will stipulate "what is Illyrian is Illyrian and what is Roman or Greek is Roman or Greek" (The People and the Party--The Greatest Treasures," p 123).

The problem of cadres is also a current one for the Archeological Research Center. Although for fulfilling its tasks this center uses collaborators from outside, for the bulk of the tasks it has taken upon itself, it feels

the need to have new cadres, to make specialists out of the existing ones and to train those collaborators from outside, mainly from the corps of educators, who are working in archeological excavations. The organization of seminars and of special courses of 3 and 6 months, that, can be organized by the Archeological Research Center, serves the purpose of training.

The preparation and training of cadres create conditions for widening and expanding research work and studies and for stating the specific characteristics of our ancient culture and the valuable contribution which it has made continues to make to the development of world culture.

The discovery, protection, restoration and study of archeological centers and of cultural monuments is not an aim in itself nor an object of curiosity. /In order for these archeological centers and cultural monuments to play an educational and active role and raise admiration for our talented predecessors,/ therefore in order to strengthen national pride and to serve for the further patriotic, revolutionary and aesthetic education of our people, /it is necessary that we fully know their many-sided values./ Achieving this objective requires a fully programmed and organized work by the Institute for Cultural Monuments and its branches and workshops in districts, the Archeological Research Center and its nucleuses in districts, the state organs and the mass organizations and by schools and museums in districts so as to fully and deeply know the patriotic and cultural traditions of our ancestors from the early times, from the heroic period of Skanderbeg or the National Renaissance down to the glorious period of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle and of the building of socialism.

In order for the working masses and, especially our new generations to be aware of the historical, architectural and artistic values of the archeological centers and of cultural monuments, they need to be acquainted with these monuments by organizing excursions to the place of their happening and by using, for the explanation of their values, the publications of the Institute for Cultural Monuments, such as the review "Monumentet" other popular scientific pamphlets, as well as the publication "Protection of Monuments" (mbrojtja e monumentere) which contains our legislation. A greater work can be carried out with regard to the dissemination of archeological excavations, discoveries and studies. Albanian archeology now has 800 large and small study titles in which the chief place is taken by the 7 volumes of the yearly "Illyria," published in the Albanian and French languages.

One of the main forms of knowing the ideological, historical and artistic values of monuments is through lectures, especially lectures accompanied by slides and documentary films. Acquaintance with scientific publications, articles of a research and journalistic nature, photo-exhibits and albums are other forms of learning about monuments. The publication of books with a popular and scientific character, containing the results of scientific works achieved in this field, is an important source for their dissemination.

Of course, those are well known forms, but, so far, they have not been used by all and everywhere, therefore, also the effect of this propagandistic work has not been everywhere what is was expected to be. Practice teaches us that the effect of propaganda increases when, first, it is developed in a concrete manner for each object and not in a global manner and, secondly, when the analysis and description of each object are carried out not only from the historical aspect, but also from the ideological and artistic aspect.

All this propaganda work must strengthen and deepen, among our people, the conviction that, as Comrade Enver Hoxha said in his speech delivered at the large meeting of Bahcellek in Shkoder District on 19 October 1979, marking the conclusion, with complete success, of the work for overcoming the consequence of the earthquake of 15 April, "The Greek, Roman, Norman, Slav, Angevin, Byzantine, Venetian, Ottoman and many many other invaders flowed through these ancient lands of our ancestors, but they did not wipe out the Albanian people or the old Illyrian culture, or its Albanian continuity" ("ZERI I POPULLIT," 20 October 1979).

9150

CSO: 2100

'TRIBUNA' ACCUSES WEST, VATICAN OF SYSTEMATIC ANTI-CSSR PROPAGANDA

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 51, 19 Dec 79 pp 8,9

[Article by Stepanka Capova]

[Text] The analysis of the ideological-diversional propaganda waged by the imperialist countries shows that in recent years hostile propaganda has been based on a relatively consistent pattern of argument. This pattern is identical whether used against the CSSR or vis-a-vis the public in the capitalist and developing countries.

We are dealing with a stereotype whose long-range as well as short-range adjustment does not affect its essence. The necessary terminology as well as concrete arguments are selected in accordance with the needs, which means, in a differentiated way. For example, the often used thesis concerning totalitarianism in our country is, when directed toward the intellectual stratum in the bourgeois countries, "explained" by the so-called lack of freedom in the area of science and arts; when addressed to the faithful, it is "explained" by the alleged persecution of churches and believers; and when addressed to our workers, it uses among other things the argument that the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement allegedly cannot fulfill its trade union mission because it is the "CPCZ which rules" in Czechoslovakia. It shows that a large number of seemingly related and varied facts (regardless of whether they are real or artificially constructed) is being used as arguments for a pattern decided upon in advance.

Distortion as a System

It is obvious that we are primarily dealing with those elements in the socio-political system in the effectiveness of which the subjective aspects play relatively the most important role: a political superstructure of society and a human being or a citizen as an active social factor.

The bourgeoisie is using a similar principle when it addresses its ideological propaganda to the non-socialist countries. It searches in the history, contemporary situation and the long-range prospects of individual countries for such areas and periods which have key significance for the future

attitude of the revolutionary forces while at the same time looking for mistakes and errors. It looks for sensitive spots at which it directs its political and ideological attacks. The reason why bourgeois propaganda misuses in its efforts directed at the non-socialist countries relatively often the topics pertaining to Czechoslovakia must be sought in the principled domestic and foreign policy of Czechoslovakia and in our history of building socialism. Often repeated slanders damaging our international relations must be seen as sanctions punishing our consistent class and internationalist policy through which Czechoslovakia plays its role in the world revolutionary process and international politics.

Ideological propaganda against Czechoslovakia is directed against the socialist system of planning and the centrally managed economy. Temporary shortages of certain products or raw materials are misused by hostile propaganda for generalized attacks on our entire socio-political system. In comparison with the hostile propaganda waged during the pre-crisis period when at the beginning of the "revival process" this propaganda emphasized the need for the so-called new economic model within the framework of a socialist system, the present propaganda is rejecting the entire socio-political system which is seen as a cause of not only economic but, primarily, political and social shortcomings. Even if hostile propaganda does not fail to use all the real difficulties and invents numerous seeming difficulties of socialism in the economic sphere, it has shifted the main focus of its work to the area of the political superstructure. The reason for this is undoubtedly both the crisis situation in a number of areas of the capitalist world and the systematically growing rate of development of our economy.

Propaganda aimed at the material field is misusing all the difficulties which our economy must solve including those which are artificially created by the economic policy of imperialism (as, for example, the so-called oil crisis) and those which were caused by climatic conditions (for example, the winter of 1979) and which affected the capitalist and socialist countries in the same way.

#### Cultural-Political Area

Recently, especially after the election of Cardinal Wojtyla as a pope, religious propaganda from abroad has increased. It strives for the revitalization of religious ideology. In addition to Catholicism, support is given to other teachings, including those of various sects, as, for example, Jehovah's Witnesses. It is obvious that this type of propaganda has as its aim support for any religion--for political reasons. The aim is to weaken the "Weltanschauung" unity of our citizens, undermine the socialist value system based on atheistic and materialistic humanism, and organize the groups of believers for joint rites or on the basis of one or another version of "spiritual communion with God." The fact that these efforts receive assistance from our class enemies proves that we are dealing not only with the dissemination of false religious illusions but with political goals hostile to socialism as well.



Propaganda linked to the utilization of our cultural traditions forms a specific brand of ideological propaganda aimed at the CSSR, especially from Western European countries. It is aiming at the humanist intelligentsia which supposedly still has contacts with the non-class cultural-historical and political consciousness of the past. It strives to establish links with the abstract humanitarian ideals of the bourgeois republic, resuscitate Masarykism, and tries to make our culture dependent once again on the so-called European but in fact bourgeois culture. Hostile propaganda tries to confirm the thesis concerning cultural and ideological lack of freedom by false accusations to the effect that the leading authors were deprived of their ability to publish because of their refusal to give up their democratic ideals and creative freedom. This propaganda wants to create a false notion according to which the representatives of our culture are those who are in exile and those who as the so-called dissidents do creative work in the CSSR without the possibility of having their work published in a legal way. A false myth about the value of the so-called underground or exile culture is artificially strengthened by a search for the new so-called victims of the regime.

An important characteristic of the present ideological propaganda aimed at Czechoslovakia and originating in Western Europe is an effort to distort our ancient and modern history. Significant events as well as the role of personalities in our history are interpreted in the spirit of bourgeois historiography, in many instances in order to strengthen antisocialism and anticommunism. The obvious goal of these efforts is to create false notions concerning our history in the minds of the young and politically and historically less educated people and to build on this new notion bourgeois myths concerning the place and role of the CSSR in Europe and in the world. Especially, the role of the CPCZ and the period of the transition to socialism and socialist construction are grossly distorted.

#### Pseudohumanistic Slogans

One of the repeated topics in ideological propaganda launched by class enemies in their struggle against all revolutionary forces is the problem of human rights, enunciated by the Carter administration as an official doctrine of the US policy. The selection of this topic was determined by developments in the world and is an answer to the growing demands of mankind for democracy and social justice and to the growing attraction of socialist ideas in the developing and capitalist countries.

Marxism-Leninism in theory and socialism in practice have overcome individualistic notions of human rights through a principle of collectivism, comradely assistance and cooperation in a joint endeavor which will assure the realization of human rights for all. Not only civil and political rights but also the rights of self-determination, economic, social and cultural rights which the bourgeois concept of human rights does not include.

For this reason the propaganda concerning human rights is based on abstract pseudohumanistic slogans calling for freedom and equality without paying

any attention to other rights which are realizable only under a socialist system. The doctrine of human rights is a manifestation of the strategy of adjusting oneself to developments which cannot be halted. Of course, this adjustment is limited to the selection of attitudes which would delay such a development or channel it into a direction desirable by imperialism.

In the policy and propaganda aimed at the socialist countries, the doctrine of human rights has as its goal to enable the legalization of the activity of individuals or groups hostile to socialism or at least to offer them some kind of international protection and to enable and support the development of the so-called civil initiative. From the intention to create attaches for human rights at US embassies one can surmise that the American foreign policy plans to undertake a vast support and organize such activity in our lands.

Together with the question of human rights, one of the main topics of ideological propaganda of our class enemies is the traditional topic of democracy. In the propaganda originating in the capitalist countries of Western Europe, this topic remained number one even during the period of the most extreme American campaign on behalf of the so-called defense of human rights. The purpose of ideological efforts of the West European right-wing and liberal bourgeoisie as well as of various socially reformist parties is to demonstrate the "advantages" of bourgeois pluralistic democracy over socialism.

### "Sociological Propaganda"

The question of human rights and democracy is linked to the question of values, norms, goals, interests and needs insofar as they act as regulatory factors for practical activity of each and every individual. Ideological propaganda of our class enemy has been concentrating on this part of the consciousness of our people for a number of years. Recently, however, this type of propaganda has been accelerated and stabilized in respect to both basic content and final goal. It is linked up to the aforementioned pattern of ideological propaganda of which it is a logical continuation aiming at the area of spiritual evaluation of everyday experience, relation of people to work and society, evaluation of one's life, etc. This type of propaganda utilizes a large number of means identified as "sociological propaganda," i.e., the means which without an expressly political or ideological judgment have as their goal to create in their targets a negative evaluation of the reality in which they live and arouse sympathies, admiration and desire for those ideas which are fed to them. In addition, this type of propaganda uses all other forms of ideological propaganda.

When using these forms in this propaganda effort aimed at the CCSR, the class enemy's point of departure is an analysis of our reality. During the building of a mature socialist society there appear a growing role of the subject--a politically and socially engaged citizen, a co-creator of scientific and technical progress, a creative builder of the new society and at the same time a sacrificing internationalist--in other words, the role of a socialist human being with all his attributes.

### More Offensively in Our Work

The most basic aspect of our offensive struggle against hostile ideological propaganda is further successful building of developed socialism in our country. It includes the consistent ideological-political education of our citizens which must be linked to full explanations of social processes and phenomena in all their relationships. An important role here is played by further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, especially better understanding of the objective laws of development and their practical utilization in building our society and in the international struggle for the progress of the world revolution.

The explanation of class and power political and economic interests of imperialism determining the goals of their ideological propaganda is an indivisible part of our offensive propaganda.

However, the most decisive role in our struggle against hostile ideology belongs to the authority and achievements of real socialism. The strength and advantages of socialism in comparison with any other socio-economic system have been singularly proven. Thus it is not only possible but it is also our historic duty to show the entire world in our offensive propaganda the superiority over capitalism. We have proofs and arguments. This is also a factor which will best and most effectively counter the hostile ideological diversion.

1277

CSO: 2400

'TRIBUNA' EDITORIALS EVALUATE ECONOMIC SITUATION

Economic Planning Must Be Improved

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 49, 5 Dec 79 pp 2, 9

[Editorial by Eduard Podzemny: "Before the Year's End"]

[Text] This year will see the culmination of our efforts to fulfill the 4th year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan [FYP]. The beginning of the year was marked by problems in the fuel energy base as a consequence not only of unusually severe weather conditions but also because of underestimating thorough preparations for the wintertime. The shortfall evident at the beginning of the year, which was too small, can be gradually overcome thanks to the unusual efforts of our workers. Even today there is every indication that the drop in industrial production will be offset. Meantime, the situation in construction remains difficult although not even agricultural production avoided problems. Due to the great drought the grain harvest is lower than that set by the plan. The missing grain, therefore, will have to be obtained from abroad to cover the food requirements of the population and for agricultural production.

There are still several weeks before the end of the year which can contribute to moderating the differences arising in the fulfillment of planned goals and the attainment of good economic results. This period will also see completion on the central level of the national economic plan for the year 1980, the last year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan which, as in preceding years, will determine the fulfillment of the objectives and goals of the economic policy set forth by the 15th CPCZ Congress. At the same time it will create the basis for a good entry into the Seventh FYP and its course will determine in advance the character of the future economic period.

It was necessary to proceed all the more responsibly in formulating the plan for 1980 at all levels of management, making certain of it and especially its fulfillment from the very beginning of the new year.

The initial reactions of the ministries, the VHJs [economic production units] and the enterprises to the plan proposals for next year, however, did not evidence full comprehension of the current needs for development of the national economy. Their demands on domestic and foreign resources, such as, for example, capital for investments, foreign exchange, manpower and wages appeared unacceptable from the national economic point of view. That would have meant a decline in national economic efficiency and would have impaired basic national economic structures. Consequently, the ministries, VHJs and enterprises had to change their attitudes toward the plan in order to fully provide for the tasks which the specifications of the state national economic plan will assign to them and to recognize the current needs of the national economy and complicated external and internal conditions.

In 1980 it will be necessary to work intensively and with greater emphasis toward completing the basic tasks of economic policy laid down by the 15th CPCZ Congress. Foremost is the need to increase the efficiency of the entire production process, to raise the technical level of products and their quality, to achieve better results in external economic relations, in investments and also in industry, especially in engineering production and in meeting the program of self-sufficiency in cereal production. Finally, all branches of the national economy must speedily increase their turnover of work, practice economy more consistently, effect increased labor productivity, adapt their production structure more quickly to the needs of the domestic economy and of foreign requirements, modernize products more quickly, make more efficient use of manpower, and manage better with production capacities and worktime resources, etc.

In order to compile and carry out the economic plan we must proceed with greater responsibility, with political and national economic approaches, with an understanding of current needs and not, as often occurs, by mechanically requesting materials or by so-called "phasing" of resources for fulfilling planned tasks. Most of all it is necessary to proceed from an analysis of the current economic status of the enterprise, utilizing reserves in production capacity, the level of raw material consumption, fuels, energy and material for a unit of production in comparison with world production. The same approach should be used in labor productivity, the technical level and quality of products. It is a demanding and creative work, the way of actively seeking reserves and overcoming current problems in the national economy.

In the plan proposals it is necessary especially now to react far more actively to constantly more complicated external conditions which are characterized not only by greater difficulties in obtaining necessary raw materials, fuel and energy for production but also by the sustained rapid increase in their costs.



It is possible to overcome these considerable shocks to our economy only by means of higher and more efficient exports, weighing the necessity for every import, more effective promulgation of anti-import measures and more efficient management, especially of imported raw materials, fuels and energy. It is not by chance that external economic relations are occupying one of the highest positions in the plan for 1980. If we want to import more, whether raw materials, fuels, technology or consumer goods to enrich the domestic market, then we must export more. It is a simple economic equation unless we want to import at the expense of someone else.

We also cannot close our eyes to complex internal conditions. No plan can set its sights on greater increases in manpower nor count on higher demands for fuel, energy and investment capital. With smaller input into the production process we must try to obtain the greatest output possible and achieve greater production of national revenues. And that amounts to no more than a method of managing better with everything that the economy needs.

Scientific-technical development must become the backbone of the plan if every enterprise is to achieve increased labor productivity, reduced consumption of fuel and energy as well as manual labor expended per unit of production. Technical cadres will have to play a more important role here.

Next year there will also be a qualitative change in investments. We must count on considerably fewer building starts and greater pressure to reduce incomplete construction, concentrating our energies and resources on the rapid completion of capacities under construction, on carrying out the modernization and remodeling of necessary facilities and making better use of existing capacities. This policy must be borne in mind when the plan is being formulated.

Everything we are doing to increase efficiency and create resources in the coming year and carry out a number of other important tasks is the only way to achieve further economic development and raise the living standards of the people. This is the ultimate goal of our strivings and the intent of our party policies.

The fulfillment of this year's and next year's plans must lead every responsible economic worker to continuous efforts toward specific improvement in management work and to a creative and active approach toward fulfilling tasks and solving problems. Old forms and methods of work can no longer guarantee the higher and more demanding goals which are being met in addition under more complicated external as well as internal conditions. We have sufficient strength to overcome in this struggle.

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 49, 5 Dec 79 p 9

[Editorial by Jaroslav Tomcik: "The Evildoers Among Us"]

[Text] It is certainly not necessary to greatly emphasize that education of the new, socialist man--which is one of the basic conditions for building a classless society--is an extremely complicated and longterm objective. After all, socialist consciousness does not develop by itself even in our environment but only through changes in living and working conditions. It is the result of systematic, purposeful work based on the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism. Today's man, the builder of socialist society, is formed by a complicated process of overcoming negative traits and survivals of the past in the inexorable struggle with petit bourgeois remnants in ideology and practice and the petit bourgeois consumer mentality.

V.I. Lenin warned countless times of the petit bourgeois dangers which threaten socialism. 6 months after the Great October Socialist Revolution, on 23 April 1918, at the Moscow soviet of workers', farmers' and military representatives, he stated, among other things: "We have one unusually dangerous secret enemy who is more dangerous than many overt counter-revolutionaries; this enemy--the sworn enemy of the socialist revolution and Soviet power which is a new type of people's parliament for the poor and which nowhere existed before--an enemy which is the elemental nature of the small property holder...The enemy of which I speak...lives only with the thought: 'Just so I get whatever I can--and after me the deluge.'"

The works of V.I. Lenin have lost none of their timeliness after almost 62 years. The petit bourgeois weed is still rampant among us and doing its damage. Our party is angry about it and realizes the danger and for that reason wages offensive and systematic battle against it. The petit bourgeoisie has in fact deep and strong roots among us. After all, fully one-third of the class structure in the pre-Munich republic consisted of small property holders, farmers, tradesmen and businessmen. "These classes represented a definite political current with a strong tradition, strong organization and a well-defined petit bourgeois ideology of nationalism, Masarykism and social democracy which was deeply rooted and penetrated even into certain parts of the working class," it is stated in "Lessons From the Crisis Development." "For entire decades these classes were oriented politically and culturally to the west. All this created among us a fertile soil for infiltration and assertion of opportunistic and revisionist tendencies." And what such a petit bourgeois element can do, what a great deal of evil it is capable of inflicting on society when an opportunity presents itself is shown by our recent past, the years 1968 and 1969.

Basnik truthfully called the petit bourgeois a cancer on society, a malignant tumor which day after day saps the strength of the people. It impedes political and working initiatives, leads to neglect of actions for the public good and to unsocialistic methods of obtaining useful items at the expense of the whole. It foments nationalism and hostility between peoples. Today's petit bourgeois have even formed their own concept of socialism as a consumer society. And so they behave accordingly. They advocate personal material prosperity and, as far as possible a parasitic means of achieving it as the

essential value of life. Their credo is to take the maximum from society but not provide anything in return. The petit bourgeois is a two-faced person. He behaves one way on the job and another way at home, one way in public and another way in private. He can literally change his political stance from one day to the next. He will go along with anyone who assures him of a comfortable existence free of any responsibilities. Unprincipled accommodation to situations in the interest of obtaining the greatest advantage, a better position on the job, abuse of any official status or bribery and idleness--these are the essential traits of petit bourgeois thinking and acting.

The consumer "ethic" of life which penetrated among us particularly with the wave of aggressive petit bourgeoisie in 1968 is not, however, limited to the remnants of the petit bourgeois classes but definitely encompasses also a considerable part of the young generation which had not personally experienced the despotism of the exploiter regime. The consumer concept of socialism among these people is often a magnified vision of the "western way of life," kowtowing to bourgeois customs and uncritically taking over everything that comes over from the capitalists abroad. Devotees of "consumer socialism" in reality are going along the road of "consumption for consumption's sake" whereby in essence they are only copying features of the bourgeois consumer society such as the pursuit of material possessions and the commercialization of culture and relations between peoples. The life goal of the petit bourgeois is consumption and the objective of its consumption is even greater consumption.

Our goal is the building of a developed socialist and ultimately communist society. But if we want to attain it we must not forget for a moment the principled and uncompromising struggle with dangerous evildoers who live among us, the petit bourgeoisie. That means, which, as Lenin said, lurches and sways, today goes after the proletariat, tomorrow fears the consequences of revolutionary change, succumbs to panic, becomes nervous after the first defeat or semi-defeat of the workers, runs here and there, whimpers, runs from one camp to another....

8491

CSO: 2400

## PRODUCTION COUNCILS FOSTER WORKER ROLE IN MANAGEMENT

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Dec 79 p 1

[Unsigned editorial: "There Should Be Production Councils Even in Agriculture"]

[Text] One of the achievements of socialism, and simultaneously also a basic prerequisites for the proportional development of a socialist state's economy, is the constant expansion of the workers' participation in the management of production, in responsible decisions on fulfilling the tasks specified in the national economic plan. On the basis of research results and the experience to date with the construction of socialism, it can be established that production councils are the most comprehensive form of introducing in broad economic practice this progressive attribute of management. Their inevitable inclusion in the system of managing production stems primarily from the fact that they are the place of deliberation for the workers who directly participate in the fulfillment of the planned tasks. Hence the production councils are not identical with, for example, the director's departmental meetings or other conferences of top officials, at which the production program or fulfillment of the planned tasks is discussed without providing sufficient room to form the specific prerequisites for the realization of the individual production operations. Participation of the people directly from the specific workplace, from the terminus of production, is essential to such deliberations.

The status of the production councils within the system of worker participation in the management of production is defined also by their agenda and their frequency. The production councils first of all focus the workers' attention on the successful fulfillment of the plan under the given conditions. Here, of course, the point is not merely the quantity of production, but also its desirable quality, the systematic improvement of effectiveness, and the mobilization of potential reserves. Characteristic features of this approach are development of the workers' initiative, participation in socialist competition, the making of socialist pledges, and systematic control of the production tasks' fulfillment not only in their aggregate but also in a breakdown by specific tasks. And there is no doubt that also the questions of occupational safety, of protecting the working environment and, last but not least, of forming good interpersonal relations at the workplace and decorating it belong on the agenda of the production councils. We could cite



many other tasks that can be solved responsibly only in the production councils. All or at least many of them require that the workers consider them fairly frequently, in some instances even daily. This fact determines the frequency of the production councils' meetings and also underscores that the production councils should meet regularly at least once a week or once every ten days.

On the basis of the mentioned aspects it can be said that production councils have already become the rule in managing the production processes at practically every workplace in the industrial branches of the economy and in the state sector of agriculture. The trade-union organizations, in close cooperation with the basic CPSL organizations and enterprise managements, are concerned with organizing production councils and setting up their agendas. In the cooperative sector of agriculture, however, production councils have not been organized on the desired scale so far, and they are exceptions rather than the rule. But we think that it would be incorrect to say that the cause of this situation is the absence of trade-union organizing work at workplaces in the cooperative sector of agriculture, because the examples of some JRDs (unified agricultural cooperatives) indicate that also in such cooperatives the workers' participation in the management of production can be successfully organized specifically in the form of production councils.

This is the impression we gained, for example, in one of the largest unified agricultural cooperatives in Dunajska Streda Okres, the Medzicilizie Cooperative in Cilizska Radvan. This cooperative employs the branch system of management and is subdivided into the following plants: crop production, livestock production, technical services, and central workshops. Top officials of the plants regularly attend the weekly departmental conference of the cooperative's chairman. The decisions of the departmental conference are transmitted to the production sections by means of the specialists and technical-economic officials of the individual workplaces. These same specialists and technical-economic officials gather data for discussion at the departmental conference. Decisions adopted by the departmental conference are discussed in the production councils that likewise meet weekly or even more frequently when necessary, specifically during seasonal work peaks or when an emergency arises in livestock production or in the other work sectors. The production council is organized by the managing technician of the specific workplace. In an effort to make these deliberations more effective, a written record is kept of each meeting, the time limits for the fulfillment of the individual tasks or of the measures adopted to eliminate shortcomings are specified, and the person is designated who is responsible for his assigned duties not only to the managing official but to the entire collective as well. The records of the production-council meetings are sent to the comptroller who oversees fulfillment of the tasks and regularly reports on this to the cooperative's chairman or at the departmental conference.

Within this system of worker participation in management, the proper assertion of the party organization's leading role and of its right to control is indisputably of great significance. Tibor Tanczos, chairman of the CPSL



All-Factory Committee at the Medzicilizie Cooperative, told us in this respect that the committee takes great care not to supplant the cooperative's economic management. Fulfillment of the party resolutions is ensured through the communists in the management of the cooperative, and by assigning specific tasks to the party members at the meetings of the basic party organizations. Written reports by the top officials on the discussed problems are the basis of deliberation within the CPSL All-Factory Committee and the basic party organizations, and in each case efforts are made to ensure that the resolutions unambiguously indicate the direction and objectives of further progress in fulfilling the individual tasks, and to designate the persons responsible for them. In this way the prerequisites are simultaneously formed for exercising the right of control.

So far as the application of the basic principles of party work to increasing worker participation in the management of production through the production councils is concerned, the personal example of the communists is naturally of primary importance. At the membership meetings of the basic party organizations the communists become thoroughly acquainted with the most feasible ways of solving the current chores and are even assigned a specific party task for how to contribute personally toward the successful mastering of these chores, whereby they become responsible for attaining the given objective. It is indisputable that it is easier for them to achieve the given objective when they are able to mobilize all their coworkers for it. Experience proves that in this respect the worker collectives' efforts can be multiplied more effectively through the personal example of the communists than by material incentives.

Noteworthy in conjunction with controlling the fulfillment of the production tasks is the experience we gained on the Plavecke Podhradi state farm in Senica Okres. To strengthen the communists' influence in the system of managing production and through production councils in particular, the CPSL All-Factory Committee regularly organizes semiannual party control days at the individual workplaces. Throughout an entire shift, a committee (it includes members of the all-factory and local party committees, officials of the control department, and the top officials of the given production section or workplace) control how the party resolutions are being fulfilled, how the principles of sound management are observed, whether the working time is fully utilized, whether the principles of constantly making production more effective are observed, whether the inputs into the production process are suitably utilized, and how the other indicators of sound management and even the social program are fulfilled. The results of the party control days are used, among other things, as background material for increasing the party members' activity, and for intensifying political education and economic propaganda work.

As can be seen from these examples, also in agriculture there are realistic prerequisites for constantly increasing worker participation in management, and even within the cooperative sector of agriculture the production councils should no longer be rare exceptions but the rule of political organizational work. Their appropriate use within the system of managing

production is being brought to the forefront of attention particularly now when the annual balances are being prepared and next year's plans are being drafted. Not to mention how many unnecessary worries the absence of production councils at the livestock-production workplaces is causing. Admittedly, matters can be solved also through orders; but practice unambiguously confirms that no order or request by a managing official will penetrate one's memory as deeply as the binding word of a coworker whom you encounter daily at work and with whom you share the joys and worries. And as Terezia Kalaberova, zootechnician of the dairy farm of the Progress Cooperative in Chorvatsky Grob, told us recently, if a manager wishes to achieve outstanding results--this year, an average annual milk yield of more than 5000 liters per cow--he cannot direct the work of his collective only through orders but must leave sufficient room also for their initiative. He must consult with them, take their comments seriously into consideration and constantly reinforce their interest in attaining the best possible economic results.

Specifically in this respect the production councils occupy a unique place within the system of management.

1014

CSO: 2409

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED GREETIS ISRAELI COMMUNISTS ON FOUNDING ANNIVERSARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17/18 Nov 79 p 6 AU

["Cordial greetings to the communists in Israel: Congratulations message of the SED Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the fraternal party in Tel Aviv"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)--The SED Central Committee has sent a message of greetings, signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, to the Central Committee of the Israeli fraternal party. It reads as follows:

On the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Israeli Communist Party I extend to you cordial greetings on behalf of the SED Central Committee and my own.

For six decades the communists of your country have waged a courageous, self-sacrificing struggle for defense of the interests of the Jewish and Arab working people, against imperialism and Zionism, against exploitation and national oppression, for democracy and social progress.

Closely linked with all progressive forces, the Israeli communists stand at the side of the Middle East peoples struggling for a just, durable solution of the Middle East conflict which agrees with the interests of all peoples of that area. This attitude of the Israeli Communist Party is being recognized and supported by all forces striving for peace and security.

Armed with vast combat experience and leaning on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Israeli Communist Party is closely linked with the socialist countries and with all anti-imperialist forces in the world. Against all disturbing attempts it unswervingly defends and consolidates the fraternal ties with the CPSU and all other fraternal parties.

We are convinced that the Israeli Communist Party will also in the future contribute to strengthening the ranks of the communist world movement.

Fraternal relations exist between the SED and the Israeli Communist Party on the basis of common antifascist and revolutionary traditions.

The SED Central Committee assures you, dear comrades, that the SED will stand at your side firmly and in solidarity also in the future. We wish you more successes in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

CSO: 2300



'NEUES DEUTSCHLAND' ON SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIANS

AU301745 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 79 p 2 AU

[Koen. commentary: "An Unbroken People"]

[Text] "Our people finds a true and genuine ally in the socialist countries." This was uttered by Dr Isam Kamel Salem, head of the PLO representation in the GDR, on the occasion of today's international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people. Indeed ever since the Zionist clique in Israel started its terror crusade against the Palestinians toward the end of the forties, the socialist world has been firmly standing on the side of the persecuted. This solidarity is rooted in the joint anti-imperialist fundamental position and last but not least in the knowledge of the woes and the bitter struggle for survival of that people.

What have the Palestinians not been afflicted with? Millions of them were displaced from their homeland. Those who remained have been exposed to the sharpest oppression for a long time. They are being treated as inferior people, as third-class citizens. When Israel in 1967 stole further Arab territories by means of bloody aggression against their neighbors, many Palestinians--on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip--ended up again under the Zionists' thumb. They are without rights on their own soil, subject to the laws of the aggressor; they are being persecuted, imprisoned, tortured, murdered. As if this were not enough, the Israeli rulers bomb the Palestinian refugee camps in Arab states, and drop antipersonnel bombs, poisoned food and explosive toys. To top it off, Tel Aviv slanders the Palestinians' resistance against this annihilation crusade as being "terroristic." This is the known trick of "stop thief." Despite Israel's genocidal policy, the Palestinians have not allowed themselves to be broken or their people to be annihilated. Supported by their friends, they steadfastly defended their just cause and found more and more recognition in the international arena year by year. This process which enraged the Tel Aviv clique and their imperialist accomplices is still in full swing. Solidarity with the PLO liberation organization, with the entire Palestinian people, is notably growing. What the socialist

states, the GDR among them, what the entire democratic world public demand is clear and unequivocal: withdrawal of the Israeli aggressors from all territories occupied in 1967; respect for the inviolable and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent state. Only by solving this pivotal question can one approach a lasting and just peace in the Middle East.

CSO: 2300

TRANSPORTATION, STORAGE METHODS FOR MEDICAL OXYGEN DISCUSSED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 6, Dec 79 signed to press  
12 Sep 79 pp 288-289

[Article by Lt Col G. Bohlemann: "Transportation and Storage of Medical Oxygen"]

[Text] Oxygen is needed today in almost all branches of the national economy. In addition to welding and soldering, there is a need above all in the chemical industry, in the glass industry, and in metallurgy. But we must expect increased requirements also in the field of public health and in aviation.

The purpose of this article is to describe a possibility of effective storage and transportation of medical oxygen and to report on lessons learned.

1. Transportation and Storage of Medical Oxygen

Medical oxygen is needed in the Air Force of the NVA [National People's Army] with a purity of at least 99.2%.

In order to be able to guarantee the daily consumption of medical oxygen, we have the following possibilities for transportation and storage:

Transportation and storage of liquid oxygen,

Transportation and storage of gaseous oxygen and

Transportation of liquid and storage of gaseous oxygen.

Since we can expect constantly rising requirements, but since consumption itself is a discontinuous matter, a combined system for the transportation of liquid and the storage of gaseous oxygen was selected.

If we need a large volume of oxygen for immediate use, then the transportation of liquid oxygen is most effective. But if the oxygen has to be

stored in between time, then the storage of liquid oxygen in volumes of less than 3,000 lit is uneconomical because we have heavy evaporation losses here. In the latter case it is a good idea to store the oxygen in a gaseous form in high-pressure oxygen bottles and to stockpile it in this fashion. On the other hand there is the fact that, as the requirement goes up, we also have to have a large number of high-pressure bottles.

One possibility of increasing the storage capacity is to use high-pressure bottles with a higher operating pressure.

## 2. Comparison of Variants

The gaseous oxygen, which is actually stored in a high-pressure bottle, can be computed according to the following formula:

$$V_{\text{gas}} = \frac{V_F \cdot P_{\text{max}}}{10^5} \quad (1)$$

$V_{\text{gas}}$  is the actual storage volume in  $\text{m}^3$ ,  $V_F$  is the volume of the high-pressure bottle in  $\text{m}^3$ , and  $P_{\text{max}}$  is the maximum operating pressure of the high-pressure bottle in Pa.

If we have a combination of transportation of liquid and storage of gaseous oxygen, we get the following interesting comparison: if the requirement is 1,000  $\text{m}^3$  of medical oxygen, then we would need around 1,250 lit of liquid oxygen (we are not considering the evaporation losses here). The table shows how the high-pressure bottle requirement changes if the oxygen is stored at varying maximum operating pressures. It shows us that the costs of transporting liquid oxygen are considerably lower. The number of trips for transporting gaseous oxygen is between twice and six times greater (it depends on the payload of the transportation equipment used).

Table 1. High-Pressure Bottles Needed as a Function of Maximum Operating Pressure

$P_{\text{max}}$	$V_F$	$V_{\text{gas}}$	benötigte Hochdruckflaschen (1)
MPa (kp/cm <sup>2</sup> )	m <sup>3</sup>	m <sup>3</sup>	Stück (2)
15 (150)	0.04	6	167
25 (250)	0.04	10	100
35 (350)	0.04	14	72

Key: 1--High-pressure bottles needed; 2--Units [bottles].

## 3. Transportation and Gasification Systems for Liquid Oxygen

After several years of development it is currently possible, observing existing work safety and other safety regulations, to store and stockpile



oxygen in high-pressure bottles at an operating pressure of 25 MPa (250 kp/cm<sup>2</sup>). The high-pressure bottles are filled in an oxygen transport and gasification plant. The oxygen is no longer picked up in gaseous form in the high-pressure bottles from the "TEGA" Works; instead they are transported together with the oxygen transport and gasification system from the manufacturer to the consumer. At the consumer's end, the liquid oxygen is gasified and it is then condensed and stored in oxygen high-pressure bottles up to a maximum operating pressure of 25 MPa (250 kp/cm<sup>2</sup>).

Here we used, among other things, the type AGU Soviet liquid oxygen transport and gasification plant. It is mounted on a ZIL-131 truck and consists of the following structural components: liquid gas tank, plunger-piston pump, control panel, evaporator, and filling ramp.

The liquid gas tank is used to receive liquid oxygen (it can also take liquid oxygen or argon). It consists of an inside and an outside tank. The interval between the inside and the outside tank is filled with pulverulent aerogel and is evacuated to a residual pressure of 62 Pa (0.5 mm Hg). The maximum capacity is 1,990 kg of liquid oxygen.

On the sides of the lower part of the liquid gas tank we have two air evaporators. They are used to generate an overpressure in the liquid gas tank. The plunger-piston pump is a single-stage, simple-operating machine and consists of the following main components: cylinder with piston, reduction gear, crank drive with eccentric connecting rod, and crosshead, as well as asynchronous motor. It suctions the oxygen in and forces it to the filling ramp through the evaporator.

The output capacity of the plunger-piston pump is 240 m<sup>3</sup>/hr at a maximum pressure 40 MPa (400 kp/cm<sup>2</sup>). For this purpose, an output of up to 10 kw is taken from the electric power grid.

On the control panel (Figures 1 and 2) we have the locking mechanisms and the measurement instruments needed for filling and emptying the liquid gas tank.

The evaporator is used for the gasification of the liquid oxygen which is moved along by the plunger-piston pump. It consists of a coil of pipe which is in a tank filled with water.

The water is heated by 27 electrical heating elements. The water temperature in the evaporator is automatically regulated with the help of a temperature regulator in the range of +55°C to +65°C. The electric output requirement is about 84 kw.

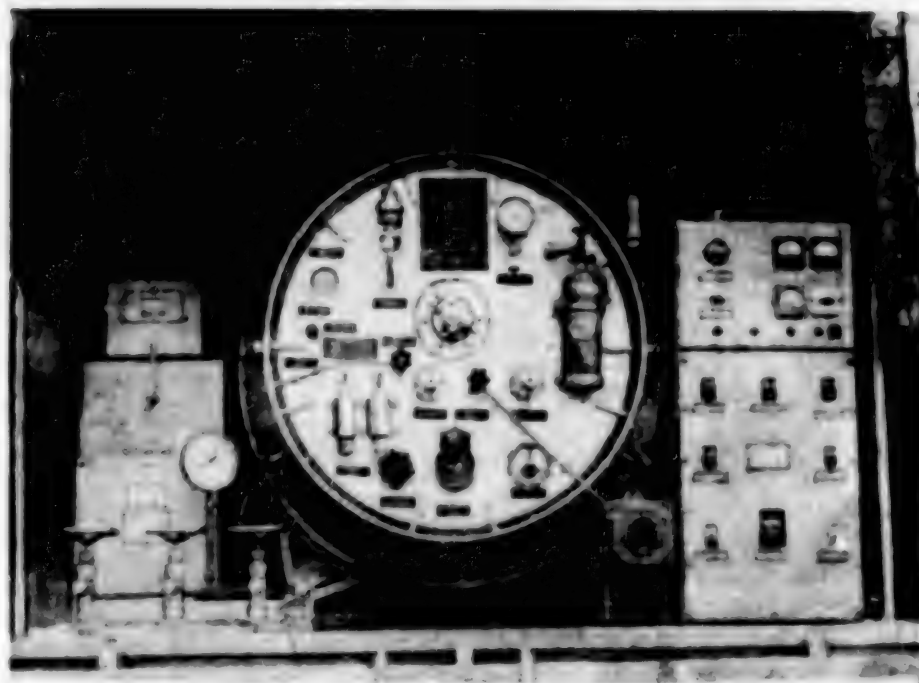


Figure 1. AGU system control panel.

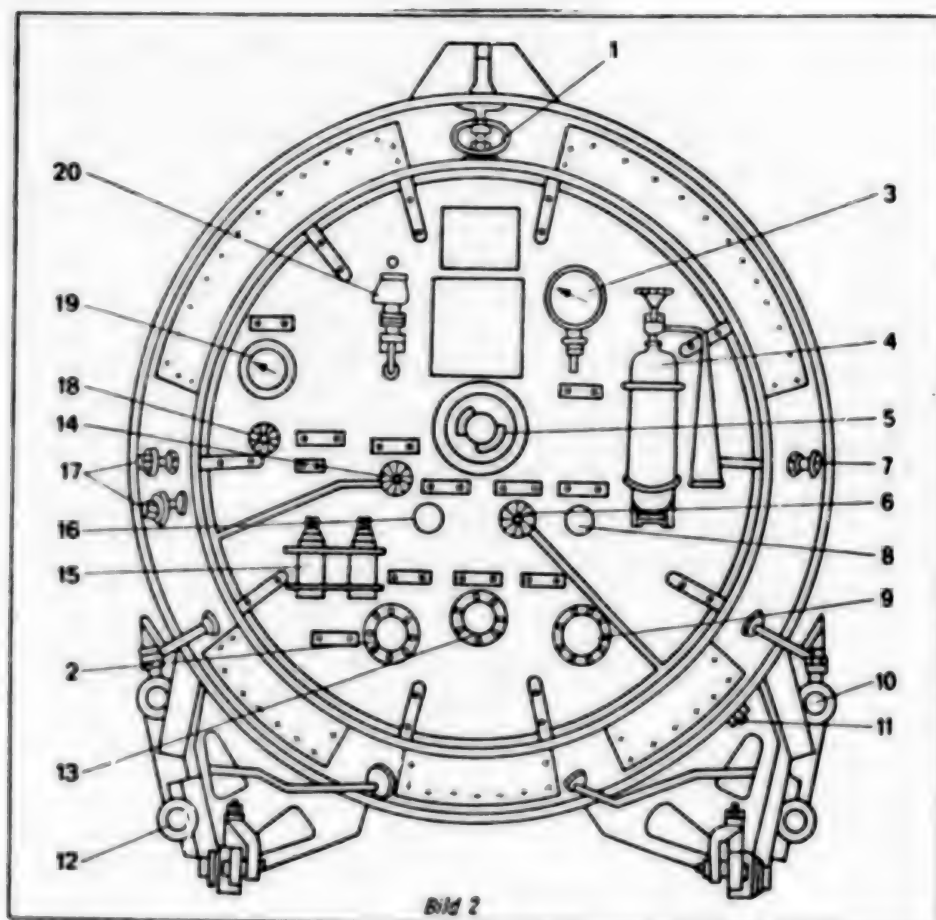


Figure 2. Locking mechanism and instruments on control panel.

1. Filling and emptying valve; 2. Emptying valve for D-16 pipeline; 3--Pressure gauges for tank pressure; 4--Fire extinguisher; 5--Filling and emptying nozzle; 6--Hose emptying valve; 7--Safety diaphragm of tank; 8--Filling nozzle; 9--Gas exhaust valve; 10--Right-hand evaporator; 11--Gas exhaust nozzle; 12--Left-hand evaporator; 13--Evaporator valve; 14--Angle locking valve; 15--Compensation tank; 16--Removal [tapping] nozzle; 17--Safety diaphragm; 18--Three-way cock; 19--Quantity measurement instrument; 20--Safety valve.

#### 4. Military-Economic Comments

Filling the aircraft on-board systems with medical oxygen is accomplished by means of overflow from an oxygen refilling station. The latter essentially consists of 30 high-pressure bottles as well as the corresponding operating fixtures, as well as measurement and safety mechanisms.

The actual volume of a refilling station can be computed with the help of formula (1), multiplied by  $n$  (number of high-pressure bottles). It thus is a linear function of the maximum operating pressure (Figure 3).

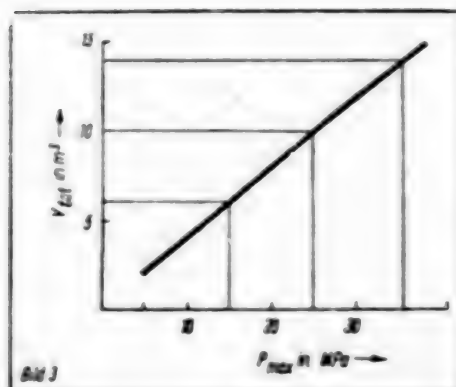


Figure 3. Storage volume of a 0.04-m<sup>3</sup> bottle as a function of maximum operating pressure.

The number of possible refills  $\eta$  for the aircraft can be calculated according to the following formula:

$$\eta = \frac{n_s \cdot V_s \cdot (P_{max} - P_s)}{n_f \cdot V_f \cdot (P_s - P_R)} \quad (2)$$

$n_s$  being the number of high-pressure bottles at the refilling station,  $V_s$  being the volume of high-pressure bottles at the refilling station in m<sup>3</sup>,  $P_{max}$  being the maximum operating pressure of the high-pressure bottles at the refilling station in Pa,  $P_s$  being the necessary refilling pressure for the oxygen high-pressure bottles in the aircraft in Pa,  $n_f$  being the number of high-pressure bottles in the aircraft,  $V_f$  being the volume of high-pressure bottles in the aircraft in m<sup>3</sup>, and  $P_R$  being the residual pressure of the high-pressure bottles in the aircraft in Pa.

From formula (2) we can see that the capacity of the refilling station essentially depends on the maximum operating pressure of its high-pressure bottles. If the Soviet liquid-oxygen transport and gasification plant is to be fully utilized, then it is possible, with this type of high-pressure bottles, at the refilling station, to achieve a fill-up pressure of up to 35 MPa (350 kp/cm<sup>2</sup>) if it is possible to attain a higher degree of degreasing. In this way, it would be possible to accomplish a larger number of oxygen filling operations without any additional personnel.

High-pressure bottles with a maximum operating pressure of 35 MPa (350 kp/cm<sup>2</sup>), a volume of 0.04 m<sup>3</sup>, and a weight of about 80 kg are thus known and can be used in case of corresponding degreasing. For such bottles, we need a residual grease [fat] content of  $\leq 20$  mg/l during the last flushing bath.



## 5. Conclusion

The need for medical oxygen keeps going up steadily. This means that we must have new methods for transportation, storage, and stockpiling. The possibility explained in Chapter IV, above, is optimum particularly for consumers with a medium and discontinuous requirement and it can thus also be used in many enterprises of the national economy and in medical facilities.

Since the oxygen is gasified and condensed from the liquid phase, there is no danger of having the fixtures freeze at temperatures below 273 K (0°C).

Condensing of medical and industrial oxygen in high-pressure bottles is possible after the attainment of a certain degree of degreasing. In a high-pressure bottle for 25 MPa (250 kp/cm<sup>2</sup>), it is, for example, 50 mg during the last flushing bath. This method has already been used for several years in the air force and resulted in a high economic benefit.

5058

CSO:8320/0426

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

AWARD FOR FRG CHURCHMAN--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, has awarded the decoration "Great Star of Friendship Among Peoples" to retired church president Martin Niemoeller. With this award, the GDR pays tribute to the outstanding contribution of Martin Niemoeller toward understanding and friendship among peoples and toward the preservation of peace. Imprisoned by the Nazis for many years in jails and concentration camps, Martin Niemoeller stood in the front ranks of the worldwide movement for peace and disarmament since the crushing of Hitlerite fascism. Ambassador Ewald Moldt, head of the permanent GDR representation in the FRG, presented the high award to Niemoeller at his residence in Wiesbaden on his 88th birthday. [Text] [AU161843 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Jan 80 p 1 AU]

PEACE CONCERNS OF CHURCH--Last weekend [12-13 January 1980] the conference of the Protestant church leaderships in the GDR in Berlin dealt with the growing tensions between East and West and with the dangers to the detente process begun in Helsinki. As the Evangelical Press Service (EPD) reports, "The conference expressed its concern over developments since NATO decided to deploy medium-range missiles in Western Europe." The highest leadership committee of the GDR Church Federation came out in favor of calling on the World Council of Churches for concerted peace initiatives. [Text] [AU191600 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATION'S NAVAL TRAINING--Last year hundreds of future sailors acquired a solid training for their honorable service in the People's Navy at 60 naval training facilities of the Society for Sports and Technology [GST]. The FDJ and GST members were trained by honorary trainers--mostly naval reservists--who command more than 300 cutters and boats for practical training purposes. At the GST elections the future sailor-specialists from Wismar, Brandenburg, Coswig and other training centers--discussed in their basic branches how the available training facilities could be used even more effectively. The future professional officers and noncommissioned officers of the People's Navy proved their worth as group leaders in paramilitary training. They

consolidated their naval skills at the GST August Luetgens Naval School in Greifswald-Wieck as well as during voyages to Leningrad, Riga, Tallin and Gdynia. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

U.S. PHOTO EXHIBITION OPENING--Leipzig (ADN)--A photo exhibition which was opened in the Leipzig Information Center on Thursday [10 January] reflects U.S. impressions during the last 130 years. It comprises 300 of the best artistic photographs taken in the United States since 1850. Present at the opening of the exhibition which has been organized by the GDR Cultural League together with the embassy of the United States in the GDR, were Secretary [Bundessekretaer] Dr Gerhard and embassy counsellor Edward M. Harper. [Text] [AU141500 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

ARREST OF BORDER VIOLATOR--Berlin (ADN)--On 14 January 1980, FRG citizen Michael Sudol violated the GDR state border in Heiligenstadt Kreis, Erfurt Bezirk. He was arrested and handed over to the competent GDR authorities for an investigation into the circumstances of the border violation. [Text] [AU181159 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

ARREST OF BORDER PROVOCATEUR--Berlin (ADN)--GDR security organs arrested Andreas Niederhausen, inhabitant of Berlin (West), for participation in border provocations against the GDR. Together with other criminals who all have a record, he had repeatedly undertaken violent attacks from West Berlin against the GDR state border and serious attacks on life and health of members of the GDR border troops. He had been intercepted during an illegal stay in the GDR. An investigation was opened and an arrest warrant issued. [Text] [AU191705 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

ENVOY IN NICARAGUA--Managua--The governing council of Nicaragua's national reconstruction received on Thursday the GDR ambassador in Nicaragua, Gerald Moeckel, who presented his credentials. Ambassador Moeckel assured the Nicaraguan people of the GDR's further firm solidarity, and expressed the conviction that the diplomatic relations established in July 1979 would successfully develop and strengthen for both states. Sergio Ramirez, member of the governing council, expressed on its behalf the high esteem ascribed by Nicaragua to the GDR's support and also to its declared readiness for an all-round cooperation. [Text] [LD050308 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1018 GMT 4 Jan 80 LD]

KAMPUCHEA ECONOMIC TALKS--Berlin--A Kampuchean economic delegation led by Trade Minister Tang Saroem ended its talks in Berlin on Friday. Before that the delegation of the Revolutionary People's Council met the general secretary of the GDR Solidarity Committee, Kurt Krueger, for an exchange of views. Krueger emphasized the GDR's readiness for

further all-round assistance to the long-suffering people of Kampuchea. Tang Saroem spoke about the complicated situation of his people during the overcoming of the consequences of the Pol Pot regime. The delegation has left for home. [Text] [LD050308 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1253 GMT 4 Jan 80 LD]

GDR DELEGATION IN KAMPUCHEA--The GDR delegation to the festivities on the first anniversary on the victory of the Kampuchean people which is being led by Bernhard Quandt, member of the SED Central Committee and of the GDR State Council, completed its visit to the Kampuchean People's Republic on Thursday [10 January]. The delegation members had friendly meetings with leading representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea as well as with representatives of other delegations that came to commemorate the anniversary. During its stay at the capital of Phnom Penh and in Siam Reap Province the delegation was able to see for itself the successes achieved by the revolutionary people's power. [Text] [AU151533 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

ANGOLAN MINISTER'S VISIT--Ambrosio Lukoki, member of the Politburo of the MPLA Labor Party and minister of education of the People's Republic of Angola, visited the Berlin School of Engineers for Machinebuilding and Electrical Engineering. He acquainted himself with the objectives and tasks of the engineers school and with the state of the training. The school has existed for 30 years and currently also trains young people from 12 Asian, African and Latin American countries. In the afternoon the guests conducted talks at the State Secretariat for Vocational Training. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO BURUNDI--Col Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, president of the Republic of Burundi, received the GDR ambassador to the Republic of Burundi, Karl-Heinz Faeschki, for the presentation of his credentials. During the ensuing talk, President Bagaza paid tribute to the GDR's active solidarity with the struggle of the African people for national liberation and social progress, against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid, and advocated the further development of the existing friendly relations between the GDR and the Republic of Burundi. [AUG81844 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

EDUCATION AGREEMENT WITH CUBA--Havana (ADN dispatch)--An agreement on the equivalence of academic degrees and titles in the GDR and in the Republic of Cuba was signed in Havana on Monday [14 January] by the two countries' deputy ministers of higher education, Prof Dr Guenter Heidorn and Dr Oscar Garcia Fernandez. During its stay in Cuba the delegation of the GDR Ministry of University and Technical School Matters inspected education institutions and had an extensive exchange of opinions on the further cooperation in the field of university and technical school education. The delegation was also received for a friendly talk by



Cuba's minister of higher education, Fernando Vecino Alegret. The talk was also attended by GDR Ambassador Dr Harry Spindler. [Text] [AU201720 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

CANADIAN TRADE SYMPOSIUM OPENS--On Tuesday [15 January] a Canadian delegation of the Bridge/Amca Combine headed by Senior Vice President Jerome Ottmar started a symposium on its product range in the Berlin International Trade Center; included are, among other things, plants for petrochemistry, pharmaceutical industry, foodstuff industry and equipment for nuclear plants and the steel industry. The aim of the symposium is to develop the combine's trade relations in export and import with the GDR industry and external trade. [AU201720 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

WOMEN IN CIVIL DEFENSE--The number of women and girls working in civil defense in an honorary capacity has increased in 1979 to an amount of 25 percent in the leadership organizations, formations and establishments. They are fulfilling their task to avert damage and danger from the working people with a high sense of responsibility and dedication. [AU201720 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

REPORT ON MEETING OF LEADERS OF JEWISH GROUPS

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Nov 79 pp 1, 5

[Article: "Expanded Session of the Leadership Committee of the Federation of Jewish Communities"]

[Excerpts] On 16 and 17 October 1979, the expanded session of the leadership committee of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Romania was held in Bucharest. The session was presided over by His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen, president of the Federation of Jewish Communities. Director Eugen Munteanu was present as a representative of the Department of Cults. The following also participated in the session: The secretary general of the federation, Emil Sechter; the president of the Community of Jews of Bucharest, Theodor Blumenfeld; the president of the assistance section, Sami Edelstein; the president of the Community of Iasi, Simon Kaufman; the president of the Community of Timisoara; First Rabbi Ernest Neuman, of Timisoara; First Rabbi I. M. Marilus, of Bucharest; Dr Fried, president of the Oradea Community; I. Segal, president of the Roman Community; Oscar Klein, president of the Sighet Community; B. Herstig, president of the Falticeni Community; Mr Moscovici, from Botosani; Rabbi P. Wasserman, from Dorohoi; L. Kahan, president of the Baia Mare Community; G. Brucmaier, president of the Suceava Community; Mr Margulies, president of the Vatra Dornei Community; Mr Frieberg, president of the Constanta Community; Mr Glicman, president of the Vaslui Community; Elias Rohrllich, secretary of the Dorohoi Community; M. Stancu, director of the Martin Balus home.

The committee approved, unanimously, the coopting of the following to the vacant posts in the leadership committee of the federation: Theodor Blumenfeld; Haim Reimer, first-editor of REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC; Paul Ornstein, president of the Braila Community; Oscar Klein; Suli Schwartz, president of the Focsani Community.

Director Eugen Munteanu expressed greetings on the part of the leadership of the Department of Cults, stressing the climate of religious freedom in which the activity of the Jewish faith and of all the other faiths in Romania is taking place. He expressed his appreciation of His Eminence Rabbi Rosen and his activity in the country and in various international meetings and congresses.

## NEW AIRPORT ESTABLISHED IN CARANSEBES

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 79, 4 Oct 79 p 2

[Council of State Decree on the Establishment of the Caransebes Airport, Under the Jurisdiction of the Department of Civil Aviation]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. On 1 October 1979, the Caransebes Airport, with headquarters in the city of Caransebes, Caras-Severin County, is established, under the jurisdiction of the Department of Civil Aviation, having as its purpose the activity of providing directions to aircraft and servicing them on the ground, serving passengers and air freight traffic.

The Caransebes Airport operates as a budgetary unit with juridical personality and is organized in accordance with legal provisions on the organization and management of state socialist units.

Article 2. The Caransebes Airport is in Level II of organization and the personnel in the functional apparatus will be compensated at the level of similar functions in Level VI enterprises in Group III branches.

Article 3. For the management and activity of the airport, 7 administrative personnel positions and 20 operational personnel and worker positions are approved for 1979. These positions are in the framework of the indicators of the work and compensation plan approved for the Department of Civil Aviation for 1979, for transportation activity.

The Department of Civil Aviation is authorized, in the framework of the financial indicators approved for 1979, to redistribute the savings in budgetary allocations, in order to assure the operation of the airport, including savings in remuneration, in taxes on the total amount of retribution, and in contributions for social security and capital repairs.

Article 4. The guard and defense of the Caransebes Airport will be taken care of by the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of

the Interior. For this purpose, the staffs of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior will be supplemented in accordance with annexes No 1 and No 2. [Footnote: The annexes will be transmitted to the institutions concerned.]

Article 5. Annex No 3--on the units subordinate to the Department of Civil Aviation, Chapter II, Position 2 of Council of State Decree No 84/1976 on the establishment, organization, and operation of the Department of Civil Aviation, as well as of units subordinate to this department, is supplemented with the addition of the Caransebes Airport.

Nicolae Ceausescu,  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 1 October 1979  
No 343

CSO: 2700

## BRIEFS

JOINT INSURANCE COMPANY, REINSURANCE AGENCY--Council of State Decree No 336 of 13 September 1979 approves the participation of the State Insurance Administration [ADAS] in the establishment, together with the American International Group company--New York, through its enterprise American International Underwriters Overseas Limited (AIUO)--Hamilton, Bermuda, of the joint insurance company, for stocks, called Romanian American Insurance Company Limited, with headquarters in Hamilton, Bermuda, whose capital will be \$4 million, subscribed in a proportion of 50 percent by the two partners. The same decree approved the participation of the State Insurance Administration in the creation of a joint agency, a company with limited responsibility for subscriptions-placements in the field of reinsurance, called European American Underwriters Agency GmbH, with headquarters in Vienna, Austria, whose capital will be 100,000 Austrian schillings, subscribed in the proportion of 25 percent for ADAS-Bucharest, WARTA-Warsaw, ALLAMI BIZTOSITO-Budapest and AIUO-Bermuda. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 79, 4 Oct 79 p 1]

CSO: 2700



## WEST GERMAN PRESS DISCUSSES VRANICKI'S ANTI-STALINISM

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 15 Jan 80 p 23

[Article by Heiko Flottau: "Freedom in Socialism--An Accounting With Stalinism by Zagreb Philosopher Predrag Vranicki"]

[Text] Marxists and people who deal with Marxist ideas but in the past few years have been deterred by the linguistic inability of the "New Left" to make its concepts comprehensible have reason to rejoice. A new book from Yugoslavia entitled "Marxismus und Socialismus" [Marxism and Socialism] will come out in the FRG this year whose author, above all, stands out by one thing--his ability to describe philosophical problems in comprehensible language. He is the Zagreb professor of philosophy Predrag Vranicki, at one time the prominent copublisher of the journal PRAXIS, banned by Tito in 1975, then twice president of the University of Zagreb and now retired. In an interview with SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Professor Vranicki says he has put special emphasis on comprehensibility, on clear and precise, even standard, terminology.

As for its contents, Vranicki's book, which was published in Zagreb late in 1979, constitutes not only a rigorous accounting with Stalinism but a plea for an open development of socialism permitting argument and counter-argument. Throughout the book--on every page, if you will--there are passages which can be quoted out of context without losing any of their capacity of telling the reader something.

For instance, about Stalinism Vranicki writes: "Unless communists and socialists in dealing with the question of Stalinism, its social-bureaucratic monopoly and its despotism, pompously calling itself dictatorship of the proletariat, illumine every corner of it, they will play not only a conservative but a reactionary role." The need for an open discussion of all aspects of socialism is justified by Vranicki as follows: "There must therefore be in any Marxist movement, if it calls itself such, the possibility of an absolutely free and critical consideration of every stage of the movement and the revolution, because any revolution without a truly controversial exchange of opinions about its achievements and setbacks is going to stagnate or degenerate."

The Yugoslav road to socialism is characterized by the author as follows: "I think it is evident that the Yugoslav opening up to the world, though at first rather a pragmatic step, was courageous and fundamental in character. A socialism shutting itself off is on the way to degeneration." Finally, concerning dogmatism Professor Vranicki writes: "One need not wait any longer to demonstrate that any dogmatism is bound to be embarrassed in front of history.... It is being shown once more that Marxism is not by any means a dogma fixed for all time but a meaningful theoretical tool for successfully coping with and solving the ever new and not foreseeable historical configurations."

Even this selection of quotations (which can be expanded ad libitum) shows that a writer is at work here who does not speak the tortuous language of many Marxists and substantively considers any dogmatism to be ruinous--both the one of the established communist bureaucracies and the one of extremist new leftwing groups--advocating an "open socialism" instead.

Vranicki believes that Stalinism is the root of all the afflictions that have befallen communist movements. According to him, Stalin's tyrannical regime, his police terror, the purges, the ideologizing of Marxism ("which always was an anti-ideological idea") were worse than "any bourgeois authorities." He goes on to argue: "From the freest and most critical idea they (the socialists) created a number of lifeless and fusty dogmas and dry rules; what is worse, these are presented as the height of modern, Marxist and scientific thinking. Suddenly monopolization became the companion of Marxism...a monopoly of the revolution and of the roads leading to socialism, a monopoly of thought in general." It was a disgrace for a system in which basic civil rights were less developed than in "modern capitalism" to call itself the representative of true socialism.

As a remedy, Predrag Vranicki demands that all socialist systems which do not face a legal opposition in the form of other parties grant complete intraparty freedom and the opportunity for all party members, even if they are in a minority, openly to expound their deviating opinions without the representatives of these concepts having to fear intraparty consequences.

A high point of the book without a doubt is Vranicki's discussion of the subject of "socialism and freedom." He concedes that the bourgeois freedoms existing in capitalist countries have been underestimated by socialists and that, not least, it was these bourgeois freedoms which insured the wide spread of "progressive" (that is, socialist) forces, but he says that the question of "socialism and freedom" must not by any means be limited to granting the bourgeois freedoms. Demonstrating this, Vranicki once more voices criticism of existing socialist systems. The centralist planning of production and consumption, he writes, and the absolute domination of the political sphere indicate that a step has been taken toward socialism but that socialism has not yet been created by any means. "While the ruling forces may be socialist, the socioeconomic system is as yet

not." Only gradual realization of self-administration (such as was being tried in Yugoslavia) could make the worker the master of his life and his historical destiny: "Only these processes open up new dimensions of human freedom which indicate to him (the worker) the way to self-realization of his whole being."

Despite the many refreshing passages, the book will remain controversial among Marxists and, of course, also among its opponents. The reason for this is not only the subject itself but also some of the author's theses. Vranicki places the "opportunism of social democracy" as a failing on the same level as Stalinism, he justifies limitations of civil rights during a revolutionary phase, and he predominantly regards freedom as something belonging to people as social beings, rather than describing it as an inalienable native right of the individual. None of these things one can ignore in reading his book. Yet it is a pleasant change in the monotony of other "leftist" literature if only because it bears the stamp of a profound humanism--expressed, for instance, in Vranicki's plaint that the achievements of European culture won over the centuries unfortunately continue to be a "sealed book" for most people of this continent.

8790

CSO: 2300

## CORRESPONDENT VISITS BESIEGED EMBASSY, INTERVIEWS STUDENTS

[Editorial Report] Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian on 16 December 1979, page 7, carries an article by VJESNIK special correspondent Hido Biscevic. In the article Hido Biscevic describes his visit to the American Embassy in Tehran and his interview with the Iranian students holding the hostages. He finds it strange that the room in which the interview was held is named "Interrogation Room" and he comments: "...the copper plate on the groundfloor door which remained from the period of 'full splendor' is the first proof in favor of the students' claims that the embassy was a 'spy's nest.'" He goes on to ask the question: "Indeed, why should there be an 'Interrogation Room' in the embassy?" He observes that "today the 'Interrogation Room' obviously became an 'Explanation Room.'"

He empathizes with students who explain to him their grievances against their main enemy, the United States: "Thus, what is acting here again is that unbelievable force of subjugated people who in naked rage are fighting against one of the most perfidious dictatorships of our century, disguised as 'liberalization.'" After the students describe how the United States destroyed their country's agriculture Biscevic notes that "the shah was not the only reason for the students' action, but only a visible motive, which carries much heavier charges in itself."

Although Biscevic finds some of the students' answers inconsistent he concludes that "nothing should be done which would make the position of the students and of a theocratic state of our times more difficult."

CSO: 2800

BUFALINI INTERVIEW IN ITALIAN PAPER REPORTED

AU231509 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 80 p 7 AU

[Report by D. Vukobratovic]

[Text] Rome, 21 Jan--The stability of socialist Yugoslavia is of the greatest importance for Italy and for the relaxation of tension in Europe and the world. There are no doubts whatsoever in Yugoslavia about that decisive question.

That was stated by Paolo Bufalini, member of the PCI Directorate, in his interview with Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA, the Italian daily newspaper with the largest circulation, after his return from Yugoslavia.

Referring to the talks held by the PCI delegation with the highest LCY leaders in recent days, Bufalini said that the talks were held at a time when President Tito was already in the hospital and that all of them, "including they themselves, the PCI representatives, were deeply concerned over the health of such a man as Tito, a man who has done so much for world peace and socialism." But, Bufalini immediately adds, at the same time the LCY leaders remained calm and confident about the future of their country.

Firm Unity

The PCI leader further emphasizes that during the last three decades the socioeconomic, political and institutional system in Yugoslavia has been built on the very solid foundations of socialist self-managing democracy in domestic policy and on the basis of nonalignment in foreign policy. The great experience of the national liberation struggle and the postwar development of democratic relations between the republics and provinces and different nations and nationalities has insured firm unity in that country.

Speaking about relations between the PCI and the LCY as an element which contributes among other things to Yugoslavia's role in the non-aligned movement, Bufalini pointed out two aspects of this question. On



one hand, he says, Yugoslavia has asserted its autonomy in relation to the existing military political blocs and become the protagonist of nonaligned policy. At the same time the workers movement and the democratic forces in Western Europe have been strengthened and that has enabled "the old continent" to gradually rid itself of a conservative leadership and free itself from the role of a subordinate U.S. partner.

#### Importance of Nonalignment

It is in this climate that relations between the PCI and the LCY, too, have successfully developed, Bufalini says. In his opinion, the excellent relations can represent support for Yugoslavia to maintain and further develop its role in the nonaligned movement. In Bufalini's opinion, what the extent of the Italian communists' contribution in that respect will be and what the contribution will be, will depend on the extent to which the PCI will be able to and knows how to link itself with the West European progressive democratic forces and to develop in that framework new initiatives to the benefit of relaxation of tension and peace.

Answering questions on what the role of Yugoslavia in the Italian communists' European strategy could be, Bufalini said that the strategy does not imply "an equidistance" between the blocs. The Italian communists do not reject the existing alliances, such as for instance, the NATO pact, and consider them as a reality. But they do not agree that Western Europe should renounce the policy of relaxation of tension, of dialog and of cooperation both between the East and the West and between the North and the South. And Yugoslavia represents precisely that point which directly links the nonaligned movement with Europe, the PCI leader concludes.

CSO: 2800

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